

The Anti-Slavery Reporter and Aborigines' Friend

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[the Church Missionary Society.

Natives in War Dress from East Africa.

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throughout Europe. The concluding passage in the second article should leave little doubt in the mind of anyone as to conditions in Portuguese West Africa. He says :—" For these reasons it is maintained that the starting-point for any further discussion on this question is that the plea that slavery no longer exists in the West African dominions of Portugal is altogether untenable. *It still exists, though under another name.*"

Slave-Trading SOME information of considerable importance has reached **in** this country as to a revival of slave-trading in Barotsiland. **Barotsiland.** The missionaries of the Paris Evangelical Mission, who work in that country, have sent home reports that certain Barotsi Chiefs have been arrested, tried and punished for taking part in the slave-trade. King Lewanika called together an assembly, which was attended by between 1,100 and 1,200 people, at which Mr. MacKinnon, the Magistrate, addressed the people in strong terms, and two of the principal headmen enforced the Magistrate's words. Twenty-one men have been imprisoned for various terms, and are serving sentences for purchasing slaves on the Portuguese border. Questions have been put in the House of Commons on the subject, and Mr. Harcourt has promised to make inquiry and obtain a report.

The Creation of an Investigation Fund.

FOR some years the Treasurers of the Society have been impressed with the importance of creating a fund for the purpose of investigating the treatment of native races in different parts of the world. Hitherto, when the Committee has received information with regard to the ill-treatment of natives, they have been unable to send an investigator without : (1) incurring a debt ; (2) drawing upon invested funds, or (3) making an appeal more or less public to their subscribers. It is for every reason highly undesirable either to go into debt or to raise loans on invested funds, whilst to make a public appeal is to give warning of the Society's intention to those concerned in wrongdoing, and close channels of information to the investigator, whose visit has been advertised in advance. This situation would be entirely changed if the Treasurers had in hand a few hundred pounds for such purpose. We are glad to announce that the commencement of this fund is now possible.

The Committee has reason to expect some considerable refund of the cost incurred in the Putumayo case in the Court of Chancery, and proposes initiating the Investigation Fund with this money, which it is hoped will be available in the autumn. It is also proposed to subject future legacies to a 25 per cent. deduction in favour of the Fund, unless there is any testamentary stipulation to the contrary. The late Mr. Joseph Storrs Fry has

left £500 to the Society and the deductions from bequests may commence with this gift.

It is hoped also that periodically subscribers and friends of the Society will allot donations to the fund; one member on hearing of the proposal, and realizing its imperative necessity, has given a special donation of £10 for this purpose.

The Visit of the African Chiefs.

WE referred in our July issue to the visit to this country of the West African Chiefs who had journeyed to England with the object of giving evidence before the Departmental Committee now examining the various systems of land tenure in West Africa.

In view of the importance to the African of the land question, coupled with the rough and ready manner in which native land rights have been dealt with in different parts of Africa, this visit was both timely and inevitable, but there is abundant evidence that in certain quarters it was anything but welcome. Instead of every allowance being made for our visitors, and for their lack of acquaintance with British journalistic activity, it would seem that no opportunity has been lost to seize upon any little thing which would discredit the deputation, and to run hot-foot to the Colonial Minister with it. On the other hand, very little emphasis has been placed upon the intense loyalty of these men, and of their profound, almost pathetic, faith in British justice. Even Mr. Morel has adopted towards them the attitude of a critic rather than of a warm-hearted friend. To the Committee of the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society, it would have seemed an extraordinary proposal for a Commission composed solely of Europeans, the majority of them, either officials or ex-officials, to sit in London and consider what should be the future of native land tenure in West Africa, without either visiting the Colonies or calling native witnesses. It is to be feared that the persistent criticism now being levelled against the visit of these Chiefs will re-awaken the suspicions which the Society has laboured so earnestly to allay.

It is pleasant to turn from this hyper-critical attitude to that adopted by several members of the Society, and some of the principal manufacturing firms of England. The Committee appealed to members of the Society and to the Directors of certain firms to make the visit of the Chiefs a useful and happy one.

THE VISIT TO WARLIES.

The President, Sir T. Fowell Buxton, entertained the Chiefs to luncheon at Warlies, and they afterwards paid a visit to gardens and farms on the estate, enjoying themselves thoroughly, and asking many questions upon

British methods of agriculture ; after tea had been served, the party motored back through Epping Forest and the East End of London.

AT THE HOUSE OF PARLIAMENT.

Through the kindness of Mr. Cathcart Wason, and the African Society, an enjoyable and instructive visit was paid to the House of Parliament, where, after the Chiefs had witnessed the Speaker's procession, they were entertained to tea on the Terrace, Mrs. Wason presiding. Mr. Flavin afterwards took an excellent photograph. Messrs. Dickinson, Will Crooks, Philip Morrell, John W. Wilson and T. E. Harvey helped to entertain the party.

FREE CHURCH RECEPTION.

Our good friend the Rev. F. B. Meyer, ever ready to help in a good cause, arranged a well attended reception at the Memorial Hall where, after tea had been served, an open conference took place upon such subjects as polygamy, the sale of intoxicating drink to natives, and the progress of Mohammedanism and Christianity. The audience of about 300 included Lady Robertson Nicoll, Mr. Robert Whyte, Mr. Geo. Morgan, Mr. W. Carey Morgan, Mrs. Blumlein, and many well known Free Church Ministers.

RECEIVED BY MR. HARCOURT.

Whilst in London the deputation was received at the Colonial Office by Mr. Harcourt, Lord Emmott and Sir Frederick Lugard. The interview was, from the Chiefs' point of view, highly satisfactory, and it is hoped not less so to the Colonial Office authorities.

THE BIBLE SOCIETY.

The Committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society gave a cordial welcome to the visitors at their headquarters in Queen Victoria Street, and presented to each of the visitors a Bible in their own language, with Mr. Williamson Lamplough's signature inscribed inside the cover.

THE NATIVE RACES AND LIQUOR TRAFFIC COMMITTEE.

Dr. Harford, with that energy which characterizes all his efforts on behalf of native races, called together a special meeting of the liquor traffic Committee in order to discuss with the Chiefs the work of that Society. The Hon. T. H. Pelham presided and was supported by Colonel Robert Williams, Major Evatt, Dr. Harford and several members of the Committee.

READING.

Through the generosity of Messrs. Sutton & Sons and Messrs. Huntley & Palmer, a most enjoyable visit was paid by motor to Reading. The Chiefs were deeply interested in the Seed Trial Grounds at Messrs. Sutton's,

and as the day was by no means a warm one, they much enjoyed the temperature of the artificially heated houses.

Messrs. Huntley & Palmer's biscuits are familiar features in every African store, and play an important part in native feasts and hospitality. The Chiefs felt quite at home in the biscuit factory, and were deeply interested in watching the manufacture of the "little breads."

MESSRS. CROSSE & BLACKWELL.

Tinned fish, meat and game is now consumed in enormous quantities in every African Colony, not only by the white Colonists, but by the natives themselves. The canning of these familiar articles proved highly interesting to the visitors.

BIRMINGHAM.

As cocoa is now being produced in very large quantities in British West Africa, Messrs. Cadbury invited the Chiefs to visit their works and witness the process by which the cocoa beans become the cocoa and chocolate of the breakfast and supper table. Mr. and Mrs. William Cadbury entertained the party, and during part of the time Mr. George Cadbury and Mr. Joseph Sturge were able to accompany them. The Chiefs also visited the brass works of Messrs. Burt, who have a large export trade with West Africa.

After the visit to Messrs. Cadbury's works, the party motored to Field House, Edgbaston, where they were the guests of Mr. and Mrs. William Albright. At luncheon, other visitors besides the Chiefs included Mrs. Joel Cadbury, Mrs. Gibbins, Messrs. William Cadbury, Joseph Sturge and Henry Lloyd Wilson. Another visitor, both to Field House and to the Cobden Hotel on the previous evening, was Mrs. Wilson Sturge, whom every member of the party was anxious to see. Repeated enquiries were made by the Chiefs for the moving spirit of the Birmingham Ladies' Negro Friends' Society, of whose self-denying efforts on behalf of their race they had heard so much.

SHEFFIELD.

To Mr. Wycliffe Wilson the Chiefs were indebted for a visit of great practical interest. The smelting and cutlery works were opened to them, and the easy manner in which great masses of heated metal were handled made a deep impression on them. Mr. Albany Ward acted as the generous host to the party, and his hospitable entertainment was highly appreciated.

The Chiefs spent the week-end prior to their departure in Liverpool, where Sir William Lever treated them with characteristic hospitality. They spent the morning watching their own palm oil made into soap, and in visit-

ing the model village, where luncheon had been prepared. The afternoon was spent at Thornton Manor, the country house of Sir William Lever.

Messrs. Moore, Miller, Holt, Cotterell, Craig, and other well-known names in the West African commercial world, entertained the party to lunch at St. George's Hotel, when speeches of warm welcome were made, all of which had a strong and happy flavour of the African homeland.

It will take the Chiefs some time to tell the full story of their visit to England, and of the efforts made to interest them by the true friends of native races. Their children no doubt will listen with open-mouthed wonder as they tell them of the industrial life of England, the strange creatures in the Zoological Gardens—which they saw through the kindness of Mr. Travers Buxton—and their friends will listen with delight to the account of the afternoon teas taken with Lady Scott, Lady Ottoline Morrell, and other members and friends of the Society; but we hope and believe they will carry back to relatives and friends the message that the best elements in British official and private life are determined to stand for justice towards native races in British dominions.

The *Sierra Leone Weekly News* gave a long account of the Chiefs' visit to England and the favourable impression made upon them, which closes with the remark that the authoritative declaration that the Government have no intention to take over the control of the lands or interfere with native rights to exercise control, has put an end to the fears and suspicions which have been exercising the natives' minds. This is said to be "a great triumph achieved by the visit of the deputation to London," and "a crowning success to the noble efforts of the Lagos Auxiliary that organized the movement under the direction of their Parent Society."

In the editorial comment on the visit of the delegates in the same newspaper the following paragraph occurs:—

"We acknowledge with great feeling the invaluable help which the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society in England has been in this matter. Here is something most gratifying—. . . While admiring the pluck and the courage of our countrymen in regard to their undertaking and, so far, their achievement, we feel certain that the Aborigines Society has been to them from start to finish the Shadow of a great Rock. The Aborigines Society only recently represented here in Sierra Leone in the genial and consecrated person of Mr. T. F. VICTOR BUXTON is certainly a great Witness for the Truth in the great Angle-Land beyond the Sea. Long may it live and prosper!"

The Putumayo Slavery.

It has been felt by the Society to be a matter of great importance to follow up the recommendations of the Select Committee of the House of Commons upon this subject, and the Committee passed a resolution in July in the following terms:—

The Committee of the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society desires to place on record its high appreciation of the labours of the Putumayo Select Committee, and resolves that steps be taken to secure the formation of a Sub-Committee to give effect to, and if possible extend the recommendations of the Select Committee.

That Mr. Charles H. Roberts, M.P., be asked to accept the position of Chairman of the proposed Committee.

Mr. Roberts accepted the proposal, and the following gentlemen expressed willingness to join the Sub-Committee:—Sir Harry Johnston, Sir John Macdonell, the Dean of Durham, Mr. Joynson Hicks, M.P., Mr. F. W. Jowett, M.P., Sir T. Esmonde, M.P., Lord Alexander Thynne, M.P., Mr. W. H. Dickinson, M.P., Mr. Ian Malcolm, M.P., Mr. Wyndham A. Bewes, Mr. W. Carey Morgan, Mr. E. A. Ridsdale, Mr. G. S. Paternoster (assistant editor of *Truth*), Mr. J. St. Loe Strachey, Mr. Douglas Hall, M.P., and the Secretary and Organizing Secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society.

It will be seen that this is a strong representative Committee and that it contains many members of the late Select Committee of the House of Commons.

The object of the Sub-Committee, which has held four meetings at the House of Commons, is to try to secure by administrative action through the Foreign Office some safeguards against the recurrence of cruelties in any area controlled by British companies, and also to induce the Government to carry out the recommendation of the Select Committee that there should be legislation consolidating, extending and amending the existing Acts against slavery.

A memorandum has been addressed on behalf of the Society to the Prime Minister, asking him to receive a deputation of a representative character in November.

In the debate on the Appropriation Bill in the House of Commons on August 12, Mr. Charles Roberts raised the Putumayo question. He said:

“ I wish to get, if I can, a statement from the Foreign Secretary on a certain aspect of that question. I cannot hope to raise the whole question, but in view of possible action next year, I hope that a statement may be forthcoming from the Foreign Office. On our Committee was imposed the obligation of discovering, if we could, expedients and means by which a

recurrence of such atrocities might be prevented in future. The situation that we found was of this nature. So far as my information goes we can be satisfied that a very considerable improvement has taken place, and for that the Foreign Office is greatly responsible. I should like to know if the Foreign Office confirms that opinion. It comes, so far as I am concerned, from information from the Catholic Missions engaged from the scene, and their presence is a guarantee, of course, that some of the deplorable abuses in the past will not be repeated. But at the same time a very serious situation was revealed before our Committee. We thought we had evidence that the abuses which have been established could be traced also in other parts of the Amazon River basin. We could not regard Putumayo as an exceptional case. It was not a merely isolated phenomenon. It need not be said that the worst barbarities which prevailed under the exceptional conditions in Putumayo can be found elsewhere ; but at all events I think there is evidence that a system practically akin to slavery can be found widespread and rampant over a large part of South America. If a searchlight had been turned upon other rivers we might have found a state of things, if not quite as bad, at all events approximating to that which we found upon the particular river which we investigated. If that is the case, as the House imposed upon us the obligation of suggesting certain remedies, I think it becomes obligatory upon us and upon this House to see that this deplorable experience is not wasted and that proper methods are taken to prevent any danger of a recurrence in future. Every one knows the extent to which British capital is already engaged on the Amazon River in rubber, and other raw products, and at the same time there is this tendency, which is probably an increasing tendency, for the raw products of tropical origin to be developed by international and absentee capital, concentrated perhaps in London and acting through boards whose acquaintance with the conditions of the industry is very superficial and in some cases non-existent.

“ Under these circumstances we thought the remedies were partly to be found by legislation and partly by administrative changes. The administrative side involves the action of the Foreign Office and consideration of the past and future possible action which the Foreign Office has taken and may take. We thought we could, by restating and extending the existing law for the suppression of slavery and slave-dealing by British subjects in foreign countries, effect an improvement. We were often told in conversation, and sometimes it was put in evidence, that this was mere busybodying and asking England to become a knight errant to the world, and that it was the concern of the foreign countries in which these abuses were found. That is true primarily, but it was also put to us that at present it is the law that British subjects who are guilty of slave dealing or slave trading in foreign countries, and of some other exceptional crimes, are violating British law

and are triable in British Courts. I doubt if that fact was known to the directors of the company concerned in this particular case, and I do not know that it is sufficiently realized by people other than lawyers and people who have given special attention to it. But on that account alone it might be said that this is a matter of concern to British subjects and to the Foreign Office. Besides that here we have a case of directors who have been very indifferent to the great record of England in the past, and the great service which she performed in the suppression of slavery throughout the world. After all, one of the earliest exploits of the Concert of Europe was, under the guidance of England, to devise means for the suppression of the slave trade, and to that extent slavery, throughout the civilized and uncivilized world. These traditions were ignored in this particular case, and I think we shall see to it that the good name of England is not tarnished again by any similar occurrence.

"Therefore, we thought, apart from the legislative changes which I trust the House will consider next year, the other safeguard which could be properly devised could only be found in the administrative action of the Foreign Office. I am not quite certain whether the Foreign Office is willing and anxious to undertake the work of supervision. The representatives who came before us laid stress on the difficulties. They said, very properly, that the commercial department of the Foreign Office is not an administrative body, that British Consuls cannot be put in the position of spies, and they are not inspectors over the economical or industrial conditions of foreign countries. All that is perfectly true, but if improvement has been made either in the Congo or in Putumayo it is literally due to the action of the Foreign Office. It is the Consular Reports in the case of the Congo which, backed up by British opinion, have effected reform. In the case of Putumayo it was the pressure of the Foreign Office which secured, without any legal or statutory powers, an inquiry by the company which led up to the discovery of the truth, and it was their sending out of Sir Roger Casement with a special Consular Commission that fully brought to light the real abuses which existed and secured the improvement which has been made. If that is the case, I cannot but ask the Foreign Office to generalize the procedure. We have got evidence that widespread and rampant through many districts in South America, perhaps in some districts in Africa too, there are uncivilized and undeveloped regions where abuses of native or colour labour are to be found.

"I think the Foreign Office can help in two ways. So far as Putumayo itself is concerned, I would ask them at least to give their friendly offices to clear up the international difficulties which lie at the bottom of some of the crimes which prevailed there. Undoubtedly the abuses which were found there were partly due to the fact that sovereignty was non-existent, and crime was possible because there was no machinery for punishment. It was

*

believed that the two Governments concerned over that disputed territory would not be unwilling to adjust their differences by arbitration, and if the friendly offices of the Foreign Office could lead to such a result, I believe it would be very desirable and would conduce to making what we believe to be the present improvement lasting and durable. Further, in the undeveloped and uncivilized regions we do not believe that there will ever be any really satisfactory guarantees against abuses without the strengthening of the Consular system and without the appointment of special Consuls, who would maintain more supervision than prevails at present. No doubt, if Consuls are paid small honorariums—£20 a year, or something of that kind—you cannot expect more. The Consular service is probably fully occupied at present, but it is already part of the duty of Consuls to report fully to the Secretary of State on the conditions existing in foreign countries so far as slavery is concerned. That is the legacy of the old nineteenth-century campaign against slavery.

"I do not think we can ask the Foreign Office to undertake the immense task of sweeping out of foreign countries slavery, or practices akin to slavery, but I do think that, in view of the increasing number of instances where these regions are developed by British capital, there should be more supervision as to the conditions under which these companies and firms work. That is the recommendation which we would urge upon the Foreign Office, and I am very anxious to get to-night a statement as to their views on the subject. They have no doubt considered the point fully. They may be able to say that the practical difficulties, and that the possible friction with other Governments which might be entailed, make the carrying out of that recommendation impossible and insuperable. They may say that it may be done within limits in their view when specific cases of abuse are alleged, but I should like to have a statement as to how far any action of that kind is possible. If it is not possible, if their view is unfavourable, then all I can say is that that increases the necessity for legislative changes. I think, judging from the comments made in the Press, it was thought that our suggestions for preventing the recurrence of abuses in future were somewhat timid and weak, and not sufficiently far-reaching to affect the object at which we aimed. We relied much upon the administrative action of the Foreign Office. If the Foreign Office, after full consideration, says it can give us guarantees and can secure safeguards, perhaps it will not be necessary to go so far in legislative changes, but I do trust that the Government will be prepared to make legislative changes next Session. The character of these changes must to some extent depend on the action which the Foreign Office can take."

In his reply Mr. Acland (the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs) said:—

"With regard to the Putumayo atrocities, there is no doubt what-

ever that the very careful Report which we had from the Committee, of which my hon. Friend was Chairman, deserves fullest consideration with the object of seeing if action can be taken on the recommendations that have been made. It cannot be denied that the subject is a difficult one. The fact that we were able to hold the investigation which we did was largely due to two facts, first, that British subjects were involved, and, secondly, that the matter was under the control, or ought to have been under the control, of a British company. It is clearly much more difficult that our Consuls should act as a sort of roving commission with regard to conditions existing in extremely out-of-the-way places, but I should be glad if my hon. Friend could come to the Foreign Office and talk over with us, in the light of the recommendations of the Committee, what it is he thinks that we have omitted to do and what he thinks might be done, and when he has seen the difficulties and perhaps more fully grasped from his point of view the possibilities of the case, we might be able to reach some agreement as to what it is possible to do, and any announcement of policy or new departure might be delayed until further consideration was given to the matter in that way."

Portuguese Slavery.

THE following letter upon a "proper and practicable" emancipation and repatriation of the slaves in the Portuguese islands has been addressed to the Government :—

August 28, 1913

TO THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE, FOREIGN OFFICE, S.W.

SIR,—

During the debate in the House of Lords on July 23, upon Portuguese labour conditions and Great Britain's responsibility as an allied nation, Lord Kinnaid made the suggestion that His Majesty's Government should urge upon the Portuguese Government the importance of bringing the repatriation of the so-called "contract labourers" up to the carrying capacity of available shipping. Lord Morley said he would submit for consideration this suggestion, which he recognised was an interesting one.

A PROPER AND PRACTICABLE POLICY.

Our Committee claims that this standard is, to adopt Lord Morley's phrase, a "proper and practicable" one for which to press, and the question arises: What is the carrying capacity of the shipping available to the Portuguese Government? Lord Morley in the debate said :—

"There are not ships enough to carry these people home from the islands to the mainland—people who have fulfilled their contracts and are entitled to

be sent back. That is one of the difficulties which the noble Earl knows exist, and it is a tremendous one."

We beg respectfully to urge that information emanating from Portuguese sources should be subjected to the closest scrutiny before giving to it the official currency of the British Foreign Office. In this case, we beg to refer to evidence which will, we believe, show that Lord Morley was incorrectly informed, and that the Portuguese authorities have never availed themselves of anything like the carrying capacity of their own shipping, much less that of other flags.

Our Society has been unable to obtain any Portuguese official figures, and, according to a question and answer in the House of Commons, on June 2, His Majesty's Government has none with regard to the capacity of ships clearing San Thomé ports for those of Angola, but there are reliable data from other sources:—

1. The British Consul, writing from Fernando Po, on April 26, 1878, to Sir H. M. Stanley, says, "One steamer takes 598 *free labourers* from Novo Redondo, and then 280; another brings 100 down the Kwanza River. Her Majesty's Consul gets suspicious of this free labour, does not find any volunteers going from Loanda, goes and interviews the free labourers, and finds that not one of them can speak or understand Portuguese; asks if they came of their own accord. 'No; we were caught in our villages, and brought in irons, and they dressed us when we came near Loanda.'"

Again: "I heard a vessel was loading slaves at Novo Redondo. I went down in H.M.S. *Swallow*, and saw a brig called the *Pensamento*; we passed her. We went down the coast about thirteen miles, and watched her for two days. As soon as she made sail, we got up steam, and overhauled her at night. She had one hundred and ten blacks on board, 'free labourers,' with all their papers complete; thirty-seven were women, two with sucking children on their backs, and herding together with sheep and pigs on the deck."

2. Mr. Nevinson, who travelled on one of the ships in 1904, says:—"We were taking only one hundred and fifty of them from Benguella, but we gathered up other batches as we went along, so that finally we reached a lucrative cargo of two hundred and seventy-two (not counting babies), and as only two of them died in the week, we landed two hundred and seventy safely on the islands. This was, perhaps, a rather larger number than usual, for the steamers, which play the part of mail-boats and slave-ships both, go twice a month, and the number of slaves exported by them yearly has lately averaged a little under four thousand, though the numbers are increasing, as I showed in my last letter."

3. Mr. Charles Swan, writing on March 17, 1909, says :—" At Novo Redondo we added considerably to the number of serviçaes, bringing it up to one hundred or more. I saw one boat-load of about thirty come on board. There must have been others whom I did not see embark, for there were only four men in this particular boat, but when later I went along to try and get into conversation with them, I saw dozens of other men. I knew they were from Novo Redondo, because of the difference in their dress from those who came on board at Benguella. It was a touching sight! They were all huddled in the bottom of the boat like so many frightened rats, from whom every avenue of escape had been cut off."

Mr. Swan also quoted, from a letter in his possession, the following statement :—" When travelling to England, in September, 1896, on board the s.s. *Loanda*, the steamer shipped about 200 slaves for S. Thomé—two-thirds were from Benguella, the remainder from Novo Redondo."

We obtain, from the foregoing statements, the following figures for the respective ships :—598, 280, 110, 272, 100 (or more), 200. These give an average of 260 per vessel, a figure which, we believe, every one will accept as the minimum average capacity of the present shipping.

We enclose for the inspection of His Majesty's Government, the sailing tables of the *Empresa Nacional*, the Elder Dempster and Woermann steamship companies, from which it will be seen that there are four steamships under the Portuguese flag, one British, and one German, leaving the island ports for the mainland each month. We are in a position to affirm that the capacity of each of these latter is equal to those sailing under the Portuguese flag. The Portuguese ships, therefore, are capable of carrying not less than one thousand people a month, and with the aid of British and German ships, fifteen hundred could be carried.

POSSIBLE AND PRACTICABLE REPATRIATION.

If we take the average rate of repatriation during the last sixteen months, we find that the Portuguese authorities have only repatriated at the rate of 164 per month, as compared with a possibility of 1,000 under their own flag. We submit, therefore, that Lord Morley was inaccurately informed when he stated that the capacity of available shipping was so insufficient as to create a " tremendous " difficulty.

The whole of the Angola people on the islands are entitled to emancipation ; their contracts—in most cases either fictitious or fraudulent—have expired long ago : indeed, according to a report of His Majesty's Consul at Loanda, a batch of people repatriated to Angola had actually been thirty-four years in bondage on the islands.

His Majesty's Government is well aware that the Society's aim is to secure repatriation of these up to the carrying capacity of this shipping, and as it is quite probable two objections will be raised to a repatriation of some 12,000 to 18,000 people a year, we beg to meet such objections in advance.

Objection will probably be raised as to cost, but if it were possible to repatriate to-morrow the whole 35,000 people held in bondage on the islands, the total cost of the operations would not exceed £70,000, which could be taken from the Repatriation Fund. This suggestion, His Majesty's Government will remember, was made by the Portuguese ex-Curator, Senhor Jeronimo Paiva de Carvalho. The difficulty of cost, therefore, disappears, and it is interesting to note that this emancipation could be carried out with the admitted defalcations in the Repatriation Fund, providing, of course, the planters could be, as they should be, compelled to return the moneys they have misappropriated.

The other objection which will be raised, is that the plantations would suffer from a lack of labour by repatriating 1,000 to 1,500 a month. If the existence of slavery and all its inhuman concomitants were frankly accepted by the Portuguese, such an objection would be tenable, but the exact contrary is the case. The labour conditions, particularly on the islands, are declared to be ideal. Food, clothing and housing are, we are told, far more abundant and of better quality than on the mainland; that there is no corporal punishment; and, finally, that the natives are supremely happy on the plantations. Whilst these views are firmly held and disseminated, it cannot be argued that the restoration of thousands of natives to the mainland would tend to lessen the labour force. The return of natives to their tribal homes, spreading this good news, should act as a most powerful recruiting agency. Young and vigorous labourers, men and women, hearing of such conditions so incomparably superior to anything on the mainland, would, we should naturally assume, hasten to the ports of embarkation for the islands.

If, on the other hand, we are right in regarding these representations as ill-founded, it cannot, we respectfully submit, be the duty of His Majesty's Government, as representing the British nation, to take into account the consequences of the conduct of the planters of Portuguese West Africa towards their labourers.

In view of the foregoing facts, we beg to reaffirm our opinion that repatriation up to the carrying capacity of available shipping, until every labourer held in bondage on the islands has been emancipated, is a "proper and practicable" policy, and we trust that His Majesty's Government will urge it upon the Portuguese Government.

We are, etc.

(Signed) TRAVERS BUXTON, *Secretary.*

JOHN H. HARRIS, *Organising Secretary.*

Slavery in Assam.

THE Society has forwarded a protest against the slavery customs in the Lushai Hills in the following letter to the India Office :—

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA,

INDIA OFFICE, S.W.

July 6, 1913.

SIR,—

I am directed by the Committee of the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society to call your attention to the reply given by Mr. Montagu on June 12 to a question asked by Sir John Jardine relative to the condition and status of certain British subjects living in the Lushai Hills. Mr. Montagu described their condition in these terms :—"In the Lushai Hills a custom called 'Boi' exists, under which retainers, generally paupers, are supported by the Chiefs and in return work for them. These retainers can acquire property and obtain complete freedom by a money payment." Later on the Under-Secretary added that "the policy of Government is gradually to modify the local customs of these uncivilized people, who, but a few years ago, were fierce and independent savages." My Committee cannot regard either the description of the custom or the undefined remedy proposed as satisfactory, and in laying before His Majesty's Government, and the India Office in particular, its reasons for that opinion, I am to ask for an assurance that official recognition of a state of slavery will be withdrawn without any delay.

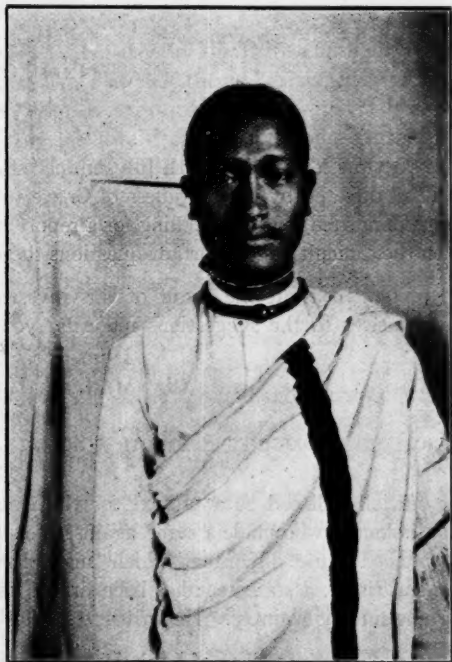
That the "Boi" system is nothing but slavery can hardly be denied. In the standard work on Assam, *The District Gazetteer*, by Mr. B. C. Allen, 1906, it is stated that the "Chief's House is the poor house of the village." The Reports on slavery in India published in 1828-1837 and 1841 by Parliament, show that the condition then prevailing and condemned by the British authorities was exactly similar. When famine occurred, the State in those days provided no relief. The victims, therefore, sold their children and themselves for a meal or a small coin, and thus famine replenished the slave market. It seems to us intolerable that in an age when the obligation of the State to relieve distress in seasons of famine is so fully acknowledged, poverty should still be allowed in a small population in a district of Assam to fill the houses and farms of so-called Chiefs with unpaid labourers. The *Gazetteer* throws further light on the system to which the Under-Secretary of State in his reply seemed to take no exception : "When a child has been brought up in the Chief's house, it is in some respects a slave." Again, "boys have to buy their release at the cost of a Metna," and again, "when wives are bought for a slave," the children are slaves. There can, unfortunately, be no doubt that the so-called "local custom" involves the slavery not only

of the grown-up persons, whom poverty compels to sell their freedom for maintenance, but of their children even yet unborn. If further proof is needed of the continual and recent practice of the purchase of their freedom by such people, my Committee is prepared to furnish it. The system already described is, we submit, repugnant to the sense of British justice and civilization.

This Society does not overlook the excuses offered for it. In the first place, it is said "the slaves are very well off." The time has passed when such an excuse can satisfy public opinion. Slavery, however softened, is radically bad, alike for the employed and the employer. The very existence of it, and its acknowledgment by the officers of Government, must sap all endeavours "to modify the local customs of these uncivilized people" which the Under-Secretary of State seemed to consider a satisfactory policy. In the next place, it is said that they can purchase their freedom at any time. But without wages and without State relief in times of famine, such savings are impossible. Moreover, at a time when legislation in India has been constantly engaged in abolishing imprisonment for debt, and in curtailing the power of a creditor, it is not fair in one district of British India that the practical imprisonment of men and their families for no fault of theirs should be permitted by law or custom and tolerated, if not justified, by Government.

Stress must be laid on the fact that this district is an integral portion of British India. The so-called "Chiefs," upon whose influence the administration depends, are British subjects exercising only such powers as British Indian law permits. The responsibility for the use or abuse of their powers rests upon Government. The area was constituted a District in April, 1898, and under Act XIV of 1874 S5 the Government can extend to it by a stroke of the pen any act or part of an act in force in any other District of India. Or it may create a special law to operate in some or all of the 239 villages in the District. It is not bound by any obligations to the so-called Chiefs. And here it may be mentioned that when the British Government annexed Coorg in 1834 it did not hesitate to condemn and abolish slavery. It is important to note that the Court of Directors made none of the excuses for evils incidental to slavery such as might be inferred from the answer lately given in the House of Commons. Your attention is invited to the Statute 3 and 4 Will. 4 Chap. 85 S88 which required the Governor-General of India to "take into consideration the means of mitigating the state of slavery, and of ameliorating the condition of slaves." The slavery to which parliament then gave the name it deserved was almost exactly similar to that which is now suffered to exist in the District of the Lushai Hills. Following the lead of parliament, the Court of Directors in October, 1841, at once realized the connexion between stress of seasons and poor relief taking the odious form of slavery. On July 27, 1842, the Court of Directors affirmed the propriety "of adopting some measure whether executive or

legislative for the removal of the evils incidental to slavery," and the Indian Act of 1843 was passed, of which one section forbade magistrates and judges to enforce rights arising out of an alleged property in slaves. This Society submits that the acts of the British officials in the Lushai Hills District, the acts of the Chiefs whom the Government has clothed with authority and even the language of apology used on June 12 last constitute a marked departure from the policy pursued seventy years ago by the late East India Company in, 1843. Nor did the company content itself with action in British territory,



KHAWVELTHANGA, A CHRISTIAN CHIEF OF LUSHAI, WHO, IN OCTOBER, 1909,
FREED ALL THE SLAVES ON HIS LAND.

for in 1846 in the Mandi and other Punjab Hill States, dealing in slaves was prohibited by arrangement with the Chiefs of those native states.

In these circumstances, my Committee earnestly appeals to the Secretary of State in Council to take immediate action. It submits that "evils incidental to slavery" to-day exist in the British District of the Lushai Hills, that they are tolerated by the Government of Assam, that the law is defective, that not only past policy and the traditions of former Governments, but also the present sentiment of this country are repugnant to the continuance of

* *

the "Boi" custom, and that, even if the present freedom of the Lushai slaves must be bought as a measure of relief at the public expense, that compensation should be paid and the recurrence of the evil prohibited by legislation without further delay. At a time when abuses incidental to slavery in Portuguese and other foreign countries are attracting attention, it seems essential that anything of the nature of the "Boi" system in a District of British India should be prohibited.

I am, Sir, etc.,

TRAVERS BUXTON,
Secretary.

[Reply]

INDIA OFFICE,
August 15, 1913.

SIR,—

With reference to your letter of the 6th July, on the "Boi" custom in the Lushai Hills, I am directed by the Marquess of Crewe to state for the information of your Committee that he is calling for a report from the Government of India on the difficult and important questions therein discussed.

His Lordship prefers to await the result of this investigation before returning a definite answer to the suggestions made by your Society.

I am, etc.

(Signed) J. W. HOLDERNESS.

THE SECRETARY,
ANTI-SLAVERY AND ABORIGINES PROTECTION SOCIETY.

On the point officially alleged as a pretext for the treatment of Dr. Fraser, the Welsh Missionary who made a stand against the slavery system, that his action produced acute discontent which might have led to his murder or to a general rising, a statement has been drawn up by a Lushai Chief named Dala now in this country. He writes:—

"Colonel Cole, late Superintendent of Lushai Hills, stated that if the slaves were set free there would be danger of a general rising among Lushais. But to me that seems quite contrary to the fact. If the Lushais meant to rebel or rise against the British authority there they would have done so long ago on any of the following occasions or at some other times."

(The writer then gives instances of forced labour for public purposes, etc., and continues):—

"But on all these occasions there was not a single sign of a general rising. Further, the following might be regarded as reasons for dissatisfaction, namely, Forced Labour, which still exists. Also, the chiefs are ordered every year to supply goats to 800 or 1,000 Gurkha Sepoys (called by the

Lushais 'Foreigners') in Lushai to worship their (Gurkhas') Hindu Goddess Kali. . . . In every order of the British Authority to the Lushai chiefs, 'Unless you do this according to my order it will be serious for you,' or some words to that effect are always added.

"The chiefs and their people feel bound to obey whatever order they may get from the British superintendent, who is regarded by them as having absolute authority over them. Since the beginning of British rule in Lushai I have heard of only one Lushai who appealed to a higher court against the order of the Superintendent; the Lushai public considered him exceedingly brave to do so.

"So if slavery is abolished by the British authority there is no danger at all of the Lushais rising; as they themselves consider it as a bad system; and instead of rising a great majority of them would be very grateful to see it abolished. If they mean to rise at all they would rather rise on account of Forced Labour, which the Lushais believe is the curse of being under British Government.

* * * * *

"I can never believe for a moment that the abolition of slavery will bring any danger of a general rising among the Lushais. The Lushais are now enlightened enough to know that 90,000 men, women and children cannot do much with only about 800 poor flint-lock guns and a few spears against the British Government. Besides that they can get gunpowder only from the British Canteen through the British officers themselves, and also a very small quantity for a whole year. They are wise enough to know that to rise would only mean suffering a very severe punishment.

"Dr. Fraser is forbidden by Colonel Cole to enter Eastern Lushai, and his movements in Western Lushai must always be made known to the Government officials at Aijal. The reason given for these is that the superintendent (Col. Co'e) says that he fears that Dr. Fraser will be murdered by Lushais owing to his opposition to the system of slavery.

"This statement seems to me to convey a very wrong impression of the real position of things, for I am convinced that no one in Lushai would ever think of committing any such deed.

"As a medical missionary who never refused any call from rich or poor, he visited many villages in Eastern and Western Lushai during his stay in the country. I have been with him in most of his journeys. Although everybody in Lushai knew that he was fighting against slavery not a single angry word was spoken or angry spirit was shown to him nor to his followers.

"Even when he visited the village of the most powerful and biggest chief, and greatest persecutor of Christians in Eastern Lushai, and owner of

many slaves, the chief himself and his headmen came out to meet him, and had arranged a lodging for him near his (the Chief's) house. And after watching and hearing him for some time, his expression about him (Dr. Fraser) to his (Chief's) friends was 'This is a real good man.' And after some years the same heathen chief came to see Dr. Fraser on his sick bed (this last illness which brought him home) and gave him a very big present. I can testify many other warm welcomes he received in Eastern Lushai from the chiefs and their peoples.

"When going out one day in Western Lushai he passed quietly the village of the greatest heathen chief about there, who has many slaves. After the chief heard that Dr. Fraser had passed he sent milk by a messenger after him, saying, 'In case he may be in need of it, there is no other place about here where he can get milk.' After a long time had passed Dr. and Mrs. Fraser went out to visit some Christians in that same village, the chief was very kind to them, giving them a valuable present as his hearty welcome to them.

"There are many diseases in the country (Lushai Hills). There are only about eight hospitals and dispensaries in over 7,000 square miles. Many are in need of medicine. Dr. Fraser and his dispensers used to treat about 200 patients every day all the year round. He is the only medical missionary in that country. Wherever he went for a journey he used to take a medicine basket with him and distributed to the sick who were in great need. He relieved many suffering people; by this the Lushais believe he is the kindest man to them, although others are kind to them too. Some of their expressions about him are:—

"'I am afraid we shall wear him out too soon if we go on as we are doing now, calling him wherever disease is.'

"When he was very ill this last time, they said, 'If he ever recovers again from this illness let us buy a horse for him to go about, so that he may not get too tired and fall ill again' (they believed his illness was caused by over-work). The nearest railway station from Aijal (Government and Mission station) is 110 miles. There is no motor car, etc., whatever in the whole country, everybody has to walk and carry his things on his back.

"Long before Dr. Fraser came out the Lushais knew that nobody is allowed to keep slaves under British rule. If the slavery there is abolished to-day, whether they are thankful for it or not they would only feel that the Government is doing its duty. There is no danger whatever for any individual, especially for any European."

The subject was mentioned in the India debate in the House of Commons on August 7 by Mr. Noel Buxton as "a case which remains for the Indian

Government to remedy." Mr. Montagu was able to state in reply, that the Secretary of State had communicated with the Government of India asking for another inquiry, to see if any further improvements could be effected.

DR. FRASER'S POSITION.

The following is a report of the proceedings at the Welsh Calvinistic General Assembly at Fishguard :—

"The position of Dr. Fraser, one of the medical missionaries in the Lushai Hills, India, who has been in conflict with the Indian Government over the *Boi* system in vogue in Lushai, was discussed at considerable length.

"The Rev. R. J. Williams said Dr. Fraser had been asked by the Committee to prosecute his task in India purely as a medical missionary, but hitherto he had not seen his way clear to fall in line with the Committee's wishes.

"Dr. Fraser, who was present with Mrs. Fraser, in a dramatic outburst said :—

'I am asked to allow my mouth to be gagged and my hands to be tied. You can expel me if you like, if that's your duty, and I and my wife will go out with joy, but I cannot sign the undertaking placed before me by the Committee, whatever my private opinions may be about the *Boi* system. I do not know what the future may bring me. I reserve the right of every British subject when I see a slave to make him free.' (Applause.)

"Dr. Fraser, who was supported by his wife, declined to alter his stand, and eventually the whole matter was referred back to the Executive."—*Western Mail*, June 12, 1913.

Parliamentary.

THE NATIVE IN PARLIAMENT.

By Our Own Parliamentary Correspondent.

During the last three months of the Parliamentary session, native races secured a large place in Parliament. Mr. Cathcart Wason drew from Mr. Harcourt at question time the important statement that the Government would never entertain a proposal for the transfer of the ownership of land from the natives of Southern Nigeria to the Crown. Both Mr. Harvey and Mr. Malcolm called attention to the reported arrest of persons engaged in slave-trading on the Portuguese-Barotsiland border. Mr. Harcourt, who

is known to be fully alive to the existence of this traffic, promptly cabled to South Africa for information, which it is anticipated will soon be received.

Mr. Harvey seized the opportunity presented by the Appropriation Bill to call attention to the expropriation—for that is what it really means—of the Masai lands in East Africa, and although Mr. Harcourt gave an effective “debating reply” a feeling prevails in the House that Britain’s reputation for justice towards native races has suffered severely through the removal of the Masai from their northern reserve.

The Appropriation Bill also provided Mr. Chas. Roberts with the opportunity for an excellent speech on the Putumayo question. The outline of future efforts, laid before the House by Mr. Roberts with great clearness, will involve the Society in a good deal of work, and if legislative action is to be taken public opinion will need to be organized and vigorously expressed.

The Debates in the House of Lords are seldom well attended or interesting, but there was quite a “good House” of noble Lords to listen to the debate arising out of Lord Mayo’s motion on Portuguese Slavery. The Archbishop of Canterbury’s speech struck quite the right note, and as His Grace always speaks clearly and boldly in the direction of the gallery, hardly a word was lost of the telling indictment. Lord Lansdowne’s intervention was as unexpected as it was impressive, and the Portuguese Government will do well to take seriously to heart the warning uttered by the leader of the Opposition in the House of Lords.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

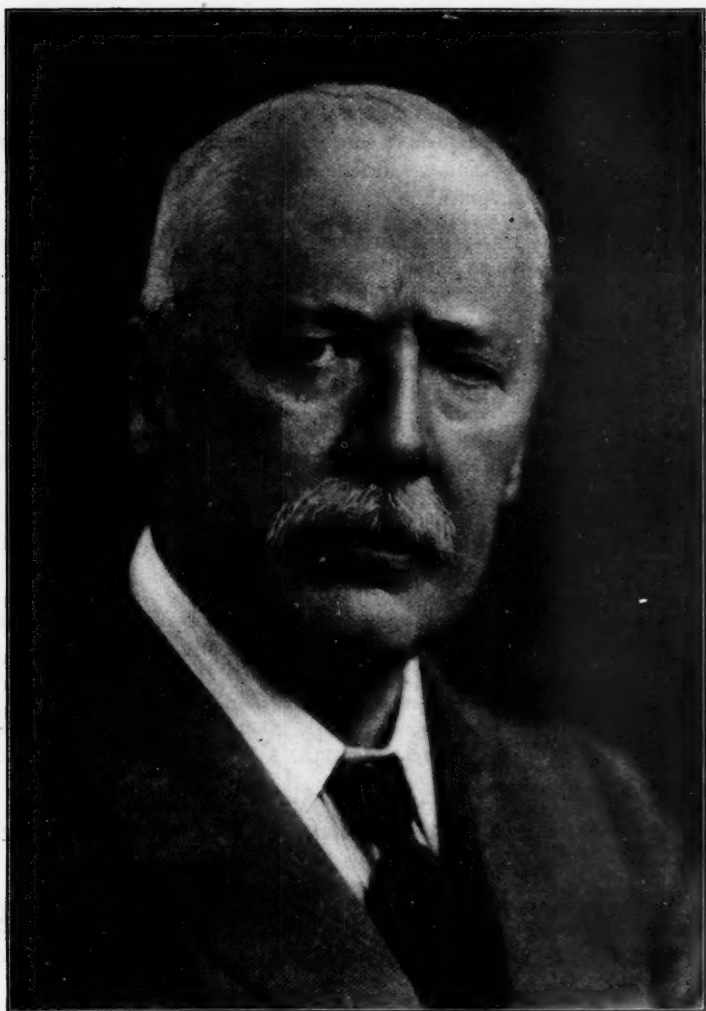
June 24.

PERUVIAN AMAZON COMPANY.

Mr. EDMUND HARVEY asked whether, in view of the statement in the Report of the Select Committee on the Putumayo atrocities, that the large sums of money which appear in the accounts of the Peruvian Amazon Company as having been expended in order to reduce the Indians to subjection were payments *ultra vires*, the Official Receiver will take steps to recover these amounts from the directors?

Mr. ROBERTSON: The investigations of the Official Receiver into the affairs of the Peruvian Amazon Company, Ltd., have not yet been carried far enough to enable him to determine whether the case is one in which he can take action in the nature indicated in my hon. friend’s question.

THE RT. HON. THE EARL OF CROMER, P.C., G.C.B., O.M., G.C.M.G.



Lord Cromer's speech in the House of Lords, and the articles on Portuguese Slavery which have been appearing in *The Spectator* over his signature, should be read by every one interested in the abolition of slave-owning and slave-trading.

July 1.

THE MASAI.

Mr. EDMUND HARVEY asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he will publish a white paper or circulate with the votes the text of the judgment of the Chief Justice of the High Court of British East Africa, in which the decision is given that the Court has no power to try the action brought by certain Masai chiefs to contest the legality of their transfer from the Northern Reserve; and whether he can state if an appeal has yet been lodged against the judgment?

Mr. HARCOURT: Yes, sir, when I have received the text of the judgment. So far as I am aware, no appeal has been lodged against the judgment.

July 14.

SOUTHERN NIGERIA (LAND OWNERSHIP).

Mr. CATHCART WASON asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether, as stated by those who purport to represent the views of chiefs and other natives from Southern Nigeria now visiting this country, the Government proposes to transfer the ownership of the land in Southern Nigeria from the native communities to the Crown or to dispossess the natives of their land?

Mr. HARCOURT: No, sir. The Government have never made, have never entertained, and would not entertain such a proposal.

July 15.

PUTUMAYO COMMITTEE'S REPORT.

Mr. C. ROBERTS asked the Prime Minister whether time could be provided before the end of the Session for the discussion of the report of the Select Committee on the Putumayo atrocities?

Mr. ASQUITH: I am afraid the time at the disposal of the Government is too limited to allow of time being given for the discussion of their report.

July 15.

PORTUGUESE SLAVE-TRADERS.

Mr. MALCOLM asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he can state, or will he ascertain for the information of this House, how many slaves were bought from or sold to the Portuguese slave-traders found guilty and punished in Barotsiland in February last for slave-trading?

Mr. EDMUND HARVEY asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he is aware that on January 21 last Mr. M'Kinnon, the magistrate at Ngambala, Barotsiland, arrested twenty-one persons engaged in acts of slave-trading with Portuguese slave-traders in West Africa ; whether he has yet received a Report upon the action of Mr. M'Kinnon ; and, if so, whether he has drawn the attention of the Foreign Office to these slave-trading practices in British territory which are being fostered by Portuguese over the border ?

Mr. HARCOURT : I have telegraphed for information with regard to the incident referred to, but it has not yet reached me.

Mr. E. HARVEY : Will the right hon. gentleman communicate with the Foreign Office in view of the consequences and responsibilities involved ?

Mr. HARCOURT : As soon as I have got the information I will communicate with the authorities.

July 15.

Mr. MALCOLM asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether his attention has been drawn to the arrest and imprisonment of twenty-one persons in Barotsiland, engaged in slave-trading with Portuguese slave-traders over the border ; and, if so, whether he has instructed, or will instruct His Majesty's Minister at Lisbon to draw the attention of the Portuguese Government to this traffic as constituting a serious menace to the good government of this portion of His Majesty's Dominions ?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Mr. Harcourt) : I have telegraphed for information with regard to the incident mentioned, but it has not yet reached me.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

July 10.

NEW HEBRIDES.

DR. CHAPPLE asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether his attention has been called to the inequalities in the administration of justice in the New Hebrides ; and whether he would set up a Commission of Inquiry into the alleged abuses, or ascertain from the French Government whether they would be prepared to take part in a joint commission of inquiry with a view to a readjustment of the relations of the two countries in these islands, and the settlement of existing difficulties on an amicable basis.

MR. HARCOURT : The matters referred to by my hon. Friend have been for some time under consideration, and His Majesty's Government are

now making proposals to the French Government with a view to improving the administration of the New Hebrides Condominium and settling the various difficulties which have arisen under the present arrangements on an amicable basis.

June 30.

SAN THOMÉ AND ANGOLA (LABOURERS)

Mr. MACCALLUM SCOTT asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether the German ships which leave San Thomé, about one each month, for the ports of Angola are, or can be, registered for carrying labourers?

Mr. ACLAND: I have no information on the subject.

Mr. MACCALLUM SCOTT: Will my hon. Friend make inquiry?

Mr. ACLAND: Yes, Sir.

Mr. MACCALLUM SCOTT asked the President of the Board of Trade whether the British ships which leave San Thomé each month for the ports of the Congo and Angola are, or can be, registered for carrying labourers?

Mr. BUXTON: Possibly my hon. Friend refers to the conveyance of labourers on deck. British passenger steamers are sometimes allowed to carry deck passengers between ports abroad, but so far as the Board of Trade are aware no such permission has been granted as regards vessels running between the ports named. If my hon. Friend will give me particulars of any case he has in mind I will inquire into it.

July 1.

Mr. EDMUND HARVEY asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether the twenty-four labourers recruited in Angola for one year for San Thomé, according to Dispatch No. 48 of Mr. Consul Drummond Hay, were repatriated at the termination of their contract?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Sir E. Grey): Of the twenty-four labourers sent to San Thomé, on November 11, 1911, in the *Malange*, twenty-one were repatriated on November 27, 1912. The other three do not appear to have returned to the mainland.

Mr. HARVEY asked the Secretary for Foreign Affairs whether the steamship *Portugal* is registered for carrying 500 labourers between Angola and San Thomé; and, if so, whether he will inquire on how many occasions within the last year this vessel has carried such numbers of repatriated labourers back to the mainland?

SIR E. GREY : I have no information on the subject, nor do I consider that any useful purpose would be served by endeavouring to obtain such information.

MR. HARVEY : Does not this matter depend on whether or not there really is any means of effectual repatriation ?

SIR E. GREY : I do not think that that is the real point. The real point is that repatriation should proceed at a proper rate. Of course, if there was not sufficient accommodation to enable it to proceed at a proper rate, that would be a thing to be inquired into and be remedied, but the measure of the proper rate is not the capacity of the ship's accommodation, but whether those who are entitled to repatriation are being repatriated.

July 16.

PORTUGUESE SLAVE TRADE.

MR. CHANCELLOR asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he is aware that on February 17 last King Lewanika, of Barotsiland, summoned his people together in order to warn them against trading in slaves with the Portuguese over the border ; whether Mr. M'Kinnon, the resident magistrate, held an inquiry and supported King Lewanika in a public speech ; and whether the attention of the Foreign Office has been drawn to the revelations made during Mr. M'Kinnon's inquiry ?

MR. HARCOURT : I have not yet received a report, but I am in communication with the High Commissioner on the subject.

August 4.

MR. CHARLES ROBERTS asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether the 956 labourers repatriated this year from the islands of San Thomé and Principe to the mainland of Angola carried with them the minimum sum of £18 each to which they are now entitled by Portuguese regulations ; and, if not, can he state the average sum carried back by each labourer.

SIR E. GREY : I must refer the hon. Member to my reply to a similar question of June 30 last.

I have not yet received the information for which I have asked the Acting British Consul at Loanda. I will communicate with my hon. Friend when I receive it.

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June 30.

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Mr. MACCALLUM SCOTT: Will my hon. Friend make inquiry?

Mr. ACLAND: Yes, Sir.

Mr. MACCALLUM SCOTT asked the President of the Board of Trade whether the British ships which leave San Thomé each month for the ports of the Congo and Angola are, or can be, registered for carrying labourers?

Mr. BUXTON: Possibly my hon. Friend refers to the conveyance of labourers on deck. British passenger steamers are sometimes allowed to carry deck passengers between ports abroad, but so far as the Board of Trade are aware no such permission has been granted as regards vessels running between the ports named. If my hon. Friend will give me particulars of any case he has in mind I will inquire into it.

July 1.

Mr. EDMUND HARVEY asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether the twenty-four labourers recruited in Angola for one year for San Thomé, according to Dispatch No. 48 of Mr. Consul Drummond Hay, were repatriated at the termination of their contract?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE for FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Sir E. Grey): Of the twenty-four labourers sent to San Thomé, on November 11, 1911, in the *Malange*, twenty-one were repatriated on November 27, 1912. The other three do not appear to have returned to the mainland.

Mr. HARVEY asked the Secretary for Foreign Affairs whether the steamship *Portugal* is registered for carrying 500 labourers between Angola and San Thomé; and, if so, whether he will inquire on how many occasions within the last year this vessel has carried such numbers of repatriated labourers back to the mainland?

SIR E. GREY : I have no information on the subject, nor do I consider that any useful purpose would be served by endeavouring to obtain such information.

MR. HARVEY : Does not this matter depend on whether or not there really is any means of effectual repatriation ?

SIR E. GREY : I do not think that that is the real point. The real point is that repatriation should proceed at a proper rate. Of course, if there was not sufficient accommodation to enable it to proceed at a proper rate, that would be a thing to be inquired into and be remedied, but the measure of the proper rate is not the capacity of the ship's accommodation, but whether those who are entitled to repatriation are being repatriated.

July 16.

PORTUGUESE SLAVE TRADE.

MR. CHANCELLOR asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he is aware that on February 17 last King Lewanika, of Barotsiland, summoned his people together in order to warn them against trading in slaves with the Portuguese over the border ; whether Mr. M'Kinnon, the resident magistrate, held an inquiry and supported King Lewanika in a public speech ; and whether the attention of the Foreign Office has been drawn to the revelations made during Mr. M'Kinnon's inquiry ?

MR. HARCOURT : I have not yet received a report, but I am in communication with the High Commissioner on the subject.

August 4.

MR. CHARLES ROBERTS asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether the 956 labourers repatriated this year from the islands of San Thomé and Principe to the mainland of Angola carried with them the minimum sum of £18 each to which they are now entitled by Portuguese regulations ; and, if not, can he state the average sum carried back by each labourer.

SIR E. GREY : I must refer the hon. Member to my reply to a similar question of June 30 last.

I have not yet received the information for which I have asked the Acting British Consul at Loanda. I will communicate with my hon. Friend when I receive it.

August 6.

Mr. HOARE asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether the Portuguese Government are taking a census of labourers on the island of San Thomé?

Mr. ACLAND : I have not heard that the Portuguese Government have yet taken a census of the labourers, but I will make inquiry on the subject.

Mr. HOARE asked the Secretary for Foreign Affairs whether Mr. Consul Smallbones has taken any further action since the Foreign Office Vote Debate in the direction of identifying any British subjects who may be among the contract labourers in San Thomé ; and, if so, what are the results of his inquiries?

Mr. ACLAND : The Vice-Consul has been in Fernando Po since the end of May and has not yet been able to continue his inquiries as to the presence of British subjects, who may be among the contract.

Mr. HOARE : Can the hon. gentleman add to the information which he has already given to the House on the subject?

Mr. ACLAND : I think the Vice-Consul will be going back shortly, and although it is a matter of very great difficulty to obtain information on this matter, yet the Vice-Consul is quite aware that we are interested in the matter, and he will pursue his inquiries as soon as he returns.

Mr. HOARE asked how many contract labourers have been repatriated from San Thomé and Principe since February ; how many have received any bonus ; and to what amount?

Mr. ACLAND : During March 234 labourers were repatriated from San Thomé and twenty-one from Principe, and in April 359 were repatriated from San Thomé. I have not yet received any further statistics as to repatriation nor any information as to the bonuses paid to the men, but His Majesty's Consul at Loanda has been instructed to make inquiries on this point.

Mr. HOARE : Are the labourers being repatriated to the full extent of the carrying power of the ships?

Mr. ACLAND : That I do not know, and I do not think that we could possibly make a demand of that kind, but I do know that in the case of the numbers of labourers whose time expires they must be repatriated to the full capacity of the ships which happen to call.

Mr. HOARE : Is the hon. gentleman satisfied that all those whose time has expired are being repatriated?

Mr. ACLAND : That is quite another question.

RECRUITING FOR S. RHODESIA.

July 25.

Mr. CATHCART WASON asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies, if he is aware that numbers of natives have been recruited from the Tuangura Valley, which has been declared a sleeping-sickness area, for the mines of Southern Rhodesia; if he will state what precautions are taken to prevent the spread of the disease; and if he has been made aware that the Dutch Reformed Church sent resolutions of protest to the administration of Northern Rhodesia on the subject.

(Written reply).

It is correct that recruiting has been carried on in the Luangua Valley, which is a sleeping sickness area, and some members of the Dutch Reformed Church in the Mpangwe district urged that there was danger of infection and that all movements of natives along all fly-infested roads should be absolutely forbidden. The local administration has, however, pointed out that the prevention of emigration was impossible, and stated that strict supervision was kept at the Southern Rhodesian border; the recruits were taken from the camp to their destination by fly free routes and employed in fly free areas, and the probabilities of sleeping sickness being carried to the South were practically eliminated. I referred the papers to the managing Committee of the Tropical Diseases Bureau who informed me that as it was clearly impossible to prevent natives leaving Northern Rhodesia in search of employment it was in their opinion advantageous that the natives and their movements should be under the supervision of the Government.

The Colonial Office Debate.

BEFORE the Debate in the House of Commons on the Colonial Office vote on July 31 the Society addressed a memorandum to Mr. Harcourt, which is referred to on another page. Most of the subjects raised in it were mentioned by different speakers. Sir Gilbert Parker, referring to the "punitive patrol" in Northern Nigeria, said that the case put by our Society was one that required an answer, considering the number of lives lost. He thought that the Colonial Secretary ought to be able to assure the Committee that such expeditions "are only undertaken in times of real crisis." Sir William Byles also expressed uneasiness about this expedition and about the floggings which had taken place in Northern Nigeria and confessed to being

"suspicious at the way in which our black Colonies and Protectorates are governed, and at the exploitation by traders and trading companies of the black population and to some extent also at the quality and temper of some

of the Governors and magistrates and agents whom we send out dressed in a little brief authority."

The house system in Southern Nigeria, which he described as a method of domestic slavery, was another point on which Sir W. Byles asked for more information.

Mr. HARCOURT in his reply said :—

"The hon. Member and also my hon. Friend the Member for Salford (Sir W. Byles) both spoke of the punitive expeditions, and especially of the punitive expedition in Northern Nigeria in connexion with the death of Mr. Campbell. That was not originally a punitive expedition, but was a search and rescue expedition, because it was not until after it started it was known that Mr. Campbell was dead. When the mutilated body was found, in my opinion the villagers responsible were rightly punished. Of course it is true they offered a very severe resistance. We must recollect the number of the casualties, but there is some reason for believing that those casualties have been exaggerated. It is essential for the safety of others that the murderer of an Englishman should be swiftly punished. It is impossible when such collisions occur that troops can be at once sent to a spot hundreds of miles away, and the officer in charge must act upon his judgment and discretion. In reference to what my hon. Friend said as to Mr. Campbell's conduct not being provocative; some misunderstanding arose from the fact that he was marking the boundaries with flags, and he was quite unaware of the suspicion which this gave rise to, and had he marked them with stones I do not believe there would have been any trouble. However, as this unhappy chapter has been closed, I do not want to say anything more on this matter, and I cannot blame the discretion of those who were acting under such very difficult circumstances. It is well known that I am most anxious that punitive patrols should be few and far between.

"With regard to the flogging incident, the story has been told before. Two native clerks had been kicking a football through the stalls of the market place where they had created much disturbance and done much damage. The head men of the natives complained to the Governors, and they issued a notice warning the people against these disorderly proceedings, and gave special notice that if the rules were broken again the disorderly people would be arrested and dealt with by the native Court. These two persons chose to disobey these orders and they were arrested. It is true that they were both under notice to leave their employment on the railway. They were tried by the Native Courts, and were sentenced to receive ten strokes in the market place as a public warning to others not to break these rules. There is no truth in the story which has been constantly repeated that a resident struck them over the shoulders with the 'cat.' With regard to Southern Nigeria. I have stated in this House on more than one occasion that I was convinced that the Ordinance originally passed in 1901 had led to certain abuses, and was in urgent need of amendment. Amendments which did deal with what I believe were the most serious objections to the law were made by me last year or the year before. I quite recognize that the whole question of the state of the law requires early consideration, and this was one of the important matters which I remitted to the Governor of the two Nigerias, and I asked him to make a special report to me upon it. Sir Frederick Lugard has fur-

nished me with a full report, together with his recommendations on this subject, but I have not yet had time to give my final decision. Whatever steps I take will be calculated to remove the objectionable features of the old law without interfering with the authority of the native chiefs, which I think is very important."

The Masai in British East Africa.

IN the debate on the Appropriation Bill in the House of Commons on Aug. 13 Mr. T. E. Harvey, M.P., referred to the recent judgment of the High Court of British East Africa in the action brought by the Masai tribe against the Attorney General. Up to about ten years ago the Masai occupied the valuable Rift valley; in 1904 they were removed thence and were given two areas, a northern (Laikipia) and a southern reserve, on the condition that the land was inalienably theirs. "The most solemn engagement," said Mr. Harvey, "was entered into by H.M. representative with the Masai on that point." In 1911, a fresh agreement was made with the Masai, the old one being given up. Mr. Harcourt then expressed the opinion in Parliament that the Masai had unanimously, even gladly, come to a decision to give up the northern reserve in exchange for their enlarged southern reserve and was convinced that it was for their good. "Since then," Mr. Harvey said, "the course of events has proved that this act of theirs was neither unanimous nor entirely voluntary." During the removal of the Masai to the new reserve constant difficulties occurred, and great loss of life to their cattle, hundreds of thousands of sheep and cattle having perished during and after the removal on the badly watered land to which the Masai have gone. Mr. Harvey then spoke of the judgment in the action brought by some chiefs to test the legality of the transfer, which was to the effect that the Masai are "protected foreigners," not subjects of the Crown, and that the agreement of 1904 was in the nature of a treaty and not a legal agreement.

"It is quite clear," he said, "in the view of the Court that a wrong has been done, but the Court says that it cannot apply a remedy." He appealed to the Secretary of State, if the law was not open to them, to see that some tribunal was set up to which they might bring their case to be heard. The whole case for the transfer was that it rested on the voluntary act of the tribe, but that was now contested by the tribe, who say that they did not voluntarily enter into this transfer. Surely it was the duty of Parliament to see that they were enabled to lay their case before a Court of Equity if not a Court of Law.

In his reply Mr. HARCOURT said he thought it necessary and advisable that there should be only one reserve and not two divided ones. He had been convinced by his inquiries in 1911 that the Masai tribe and chiefs

wished for a junction of the two reserves. He admitted that the first move was mismanaged and that there was much suffering, but contended that the reports as to losses of life and stock were very greatly exaggerated. Very few bones were found, and only one human skeleton. He continued :—

“A new move was made last winter and it was conducted with very great care. It was a complete success and was finally completed on the 10th of April. They took 462 warriors, 1,820 other males, 4,031 women, and 3,751 children, making a total in all of 10,064. They had 200,000 cattle and 1,500,000 sheep. The problem set us by the pax Britannica is a very difficult one, because our government of the East African Protectorate has decreased both the stock and human diseases, and it has led to a constant increase in the tribe and flocks. The Masai are not labourers or dealers in stock. They do not eat their flocks but hoard them. They drink the blood from living animals but they never sell them. Therefore as inhabitants they are useless to their neighbours or themselves, and they present a problem of human development of the utmost difficulty. But admitting that the junction of the two reserves was necessary because more space was wanted, it was impossible to supply the northern reserve which was entirely surrounded by a European settlement. The old northern reserve amounts to 3,052,800 acres and the old southern reserve to 2,752,000 acres, making a total of 5,804,800 acres for the two reserves. But the new south reserve east is 1,984,000 acres, and the west 3,584,000 acres, and the Garden of Eden 876,000 acres, making a new southern reserve of 6,444,000 acres, and this is given in exchange for the old northern reserve, which was 3,000,000 acres. Therefore the new southern reserve is more than double the old northern reserve for which it is substituted.”

MR. T. E. HARVEY : “Will the right hon. Gentleman bear in mind what was said when these reserves were contemplated, namely, that no sane European would accept a free gift of 500,000 acres in such a place ? ”

MR. HARCOURT : “Since then European settlers have occupied the land and we are told that it is a garden of Eden. The total southern reserve, old and new, is now 9,200,000 acres, and the total of the two old reserves were only 5,800,000 acres. The quality of the land is as good as, if not better than, the old. The water is sufficient ; and dams are being made to provide against times of drought. There is the Tsetse fly *glossina* in both the northern and southern reserves, but I am informed that it is only in small districts in the new southern reserve. It is an unavoidable evil. The injunction against the move, about which my hon. Friend has spoken, was obtained two days after the move had been completed. The movement had been in progress many months before the action was commenced. It is quite true the Court decided that they had no jurisdiction, because it was an act of State, but I understand that it is possible the matter may be made the subject of an appeal to the Privy Council, and, therefore, I must treat it as *sub judice*. There has been no disposal of Laikipia lands in the northern reserve, but we must accommodate the settlers that are being displaced from the new southern reserve, and the claims of settlers removed from Laikipia when first made a reserve must also be considered. I have exercised throughout in this matter the greatest care to satisfy myself that the move is to the advantage of the tribe and that everything is done with their free consent. The chiefs were sent from the northern reserve to inspect the southern re-

serve, and they expressed their satisfaction with it. The governor, Mr. Bel-field, visited the Masai there on the spot, and he was satisfied that they were content. I am glad to say that he is at this moment making a tour amongst them throughout the whole of the southern reserve. . . . I believe that these new arrangements will tend to the happiness and prosperity of this tribe, and the next problem is to try and make them less savage, and their customs and morals more suited to modern ideas of native development, organization and progress."

The New Hebrides Abuses.

THE tale of wrongs committed on native labourers in the New Hebrides in breach of the Convention is a grievous and monotonous one ; the most serious part of it being of course the constantly alleged complicity in, or at least indifference to, what goes on, on the part of the French authorities.

A letter recently addressed to H.M. Resident Commissioner states :—

"An isolated complaint one might easily disbelieve, but when complaints of the nature enumerated above flow in by dozens and hundreds, and when one is met by a steady refusal to investigate complaints, or when such investigations end always in the same way, one can only come to the conclusion that the French Residency has passively, if not actively associated itself with a system which is simply slavery under a polite name."

But the offenders are not all French ; it appears that some of the British also have set themselves to defy the authorities, and summonses have been served on British subjects for the illegal recruitment or detention of women.

In our last issue it was stated that a report had been received upon the conditions on one particular plantation into which inquiry had been made, but we are informed that that report will not be published owing to certain proposals which are being made to the French Government for a revision of the Anglo-French Convention ; the fact of these negotiations has since been confirmed by an answer given by Mr. Harcourt in Parliament which will be found on another page. The same fact has been given as a reason for not publishing the Return of cases tried and convictions obtained by the Joint Court of the New Hebrides during the last two years, which was promised by the Colonial Secretary in July, 1912, and has since been duly sent in.

The following paragraph appeared in *The Times* of July 8 from its Sydney correspondent :—

SYDNEY, July 7.

"A conference of the Protestant Churches at Paocema, in the New Hebrides, has passed and is circulating a series of resolutions protesting against the inequalities of the administration of justice in the islands, especially citing the

operation of the second subsection of Condominium Convention Article 19." [*This provides for the executing of the Judgments of the Joint Court by the High Commissioner or Resident Commissioner of the country to which the plaintiff belongs.*] "Quoting specific and detailed instances, they charge the French officials with ignoring the misdemeanours of French nationals, with remitting sentences after conviction of serious offences, and with the non-collection of imposed fines. Cases are also given in which the selling of alcohol, kidnapping, land-grabbing and flogging have been left unpunished, and others in which there has been a neglect to repatriate natives after the expiration of their term of engagement. Further, complaint is made that the majority of the Joint Court and the Public Prosecutor are practically ignorant of English.

"In view of the strenuousness and elaboration of this appeal, all cases being vouched for as authentic, the effect on Australia is bound to be great, and it is hoped that the French Government will be convinced of the necessity of ordering its local officials to enforce the provisions of the Convention with the same severity as is employed by their British colleagues against British offenders."

Since this was published we have received a copy of the resolutions, which, as they state the present conditions with much force, we append.

[Copy.]

THE CHURCH'S INDICTMENT OF THE CONDOMINIUM.

RESOLUTION PASSED BY A CONFERENCE OF THE PROTESTANT CHURCHES
HELD AT PAGEMA, NEW HEBRIDES, ON JUNE 25, 1913.

This conference of Protestant Missionaries and others interested in the welfare of the New Hebrides resolves as follows:—

1. We are of opinion that the time has come when we can no longer refrain from calling the attention of the people of the British Empire to the deplorable condition of things existing in this group of islands.

2. Evidence has been accumulating for some considerable time of the inequality of the administration of justice in the New Hebrides. The proceedings of the Joint Court reveal the fact that breaches of the Convention by subjects of the French Republic have been so dealt with as rather to tend to lawlessness than its suppression: the French National Court is singularly ineffective in the punishment of crime, the delays in bringing natives charged with offences against each other are both a source of injustice and a menace to the good order of the group, whilst the general condition of things calls for immediate and radical readjustment.

3. Owing to what seem to us serious deficiencies in the articles of the convention itself, it would appear that after a trial of nearly six years this instrument of government has been proved unworkable from the standpoint of British justice. To illustrate only one phrase of this, we quote Article 19, subsection 2, which enacts: "The authority charged with the execution of the penalty in a criminal or police case may reduce or remit such penalty." It is obvious that grave abuses are possible under this clause, and we have reason to know that such abuses have actually occurred. To these we shall refer later.

As exemplifying the true nature of the Convention, as it is interpreted by the officers whose duty it is to see it carried out in its true intent and meaning, we submit:—

(a) That there is a lamentable defect in the legal process by which offenders belonging to the French nation are dealt with by the authorities of their nationality. Reports of their alleged misdemeanours are frequently ignored, whereas British subjects are dealt with promptly and strictly according to the terms of the Convention.

As an example of this we quote the case of a labourer of H. Mathieux of Mele, named Ailait of Tommen Island, Malekula. This boy complained on March 2, 1913, that as his employer had left him in charge of a ship in Vila Harbour for a week without food, and as in consequence he begged some rice from a local storekeeper (who thereupon is alleged to have sent in a bill to Mr. Mathieux), Mr. Mathieux flung a bottle at his head, which broke and inflicted dangerous cuts on the head. The boy appeared covered with blood from head to foot. His case (after he had been discharged from hospital) was duly reported to the French Resident Commissioner, but no prosecution has followed.

Practically 90 per cent. of the prosecutions of French subjects before the Joint Court for breaches of the Convention and the regulations made under the Convention are brought about by the instrumentality, not of the French Commandant of Police, but by the British, who according to the traditions of the Army takes his duties seriously.

(b) When brought to trial this invidious distinction still continues. In the first place the constitution of the Court is distinctly unfavourable to the securing the ends of justice, particularly in cases where French and Native interests clash.

Two out of the three Judges and the Public Prosecutor know, for all practical purposes, no English, and hence the evidence of natives has often to undergo a double translation before through the medium of the French tongue it becomes intelligible to the majority of the Bench. The advantage

of the Frenchman over the Native is difficult to express, whilst the British subject who is before the Court is also placed in a position of decided inequality with his French fellow-citizen.

The interpretation provided for by the Convention is frequently inadequate; not through any fault of the Interpreter, but because passages between the Judges themselves, and between Judges and Counsel, are often not translated in English.

The general French atmosphere of the Court is intensified by the limited acquaintance with English legal procedure of a majority of the Bench.

(c) It is when we come to the results of the trials of Frenchmen that the most glaring inequalities are exhibited. Sentences imposed on the conviction of accused persons depend for their execution upon the will of the Resident Commissioner of the country to which the non-native party belongs (see Article 191 b quoted above). And there is room to believe that the ends of justice have been entirely defeated either by a remission of the penalty or more frequently by a failure to execute the sentences of the Court. This cannot be said of the British Resident, for there has not been a single remission of a penalty, and with perhaps a single exception (in a case of destitution) every fine imposed by the Court has been collected.

4. There are two serious results ensuing from the foregoing anomaly in the administration of justice:—

- (1) That the natives themselves have little chance of justice when involved in litigation with a Frenchman.
- (2) That British settlers who are compelled by their own authorities to keep the law are placed at a serious disadvantage as compared with their French neighbours.

5. The Joint Court has only jurisdiction over breaches of the Convention, and enough has been stated to show what a travesty of justice its proceedings often are. It is when we come to the French National Court, which has jurisdiction over criminal cases, that we see the extremes to which mal-administration may go. In the solitary case this Court has judged, out of many which should have come before it, the miscarriage of justice is as flagrant as imagination can picture. We desire to direct special attention to this case which we thus summarise:—

A Frenchman named LeClerc was indicted before the French National Court on July 16, 1912, for the murder of a Santo native named Nip at Big Bay, Santo, in the month of October, 1911. It appeared from the evidence of six natives and one white man, that LeClerc, who was the captain of a small recruiting ship, called the *St. Joseph*, was at anchor near the shore.

Several natives came on board for the purpose of trading, or partly out of curiosity.

LeClerc suddenly pulled up anchor and hoisted sail. There was then a scene of some disturbance, the seven natives protesting against their being taken away. The boy Nip jumped overboard, apparently with the object of swimming ashore. LeClerc then fired two shots at him with his revolver. Blood was seen by six of the witnesses on the boy's neck. He was seen to struggle for a moment and then disappeared from view and has never been seen again. The accused, in his evidence, stated that he considered the boys as recruits and not as mere traders. He admitted firing one shot at the boy in a moment of excitement, but denied that the shot had touched him. He also admitted that he gave orders for a volley to be fired at natives on the beach, but states that no one was hit, and that no shots were fired in reply. The Court found the accused guilty of common assault and under Article 311 of the French penal code he was sentenced to one year's imprisonment with the benefit of the First Offenders' Act, and walked out of the Court a free man. It is worthy of remark that the Judge who presided in this case was Judge Colonna, who made a well-known anti-missionary speech some years ago, and that one of the two Assessors was a M. Gabriel Frouin, who was himself tried some years ago for murder, and that the Bailiff of the Court, a M. Langlois, underwent a similar trial on a similar accusation.

The white man, a Mr. Young, referred to in the above statement, was subsequently prosecuted in the British Court, convicted, and sentenced to six months' imprisonment, and served his sentence.

In contrast to this all the cases brought under the cognizance of the British National Court have been dealt with according to British procedure, and where convictions have been obtained, penalties have duly followed.

6. We are of opinion that the infrequency of the meeting of the Joint Naval Commission is just ground of complaint, seeing that natives who are accused of committing crimes against their fellows are often kept in the condition of convicted persons for long periods, previous to trial, a state of things utterly incompatible with British justice. It may be stated generally that the Joint Naval Commission, which is the only body having jurisdiction over internative offences, has met on an average since the Convention came into force three or four times per annum. The men-of-war leave the station in or about November of each year, and the British man-of-war does not return till some six months later at the expiry of the hurricane season. The Joint Naval Commission is composed of officers of the two men-of-war and can only sit when the two men-of-war are present at one time in the same place. It follows that any native arrested after the departure of one of the men-of-war from the Group in November remains confined in Vila, where he is subjected to precisely the same régime as convicted prisoners for the best part of six

months. There is at the present moment actually confined in the gaol at Vila a boy named Harry of Lamenu Island, Epi, who has been thus confined since last November, and is still awaiting trial. There is also another case of a Rano boy, who has been confined since November for the same reason. Besides these, there are cases from other islands.

7. With regard to the general condition of the natives, we feel bound to confess that the Condominium, as an instrument of Government, has utterly failed to express the sense of our responsibility as a British people to native races. It has been the glory of Britain that wherever the flag flies, the native born has in course of time been brought under elevating influences. Here, on the contrary, the things that make for degradation and oppression are still operative. Grog selling, illegal recruiting and kidnapping, are as rife as ever, and there is no improvement of the moral situation so far as governmental initiative is concerned.

As instances of grog selling, we quote the following cases:—

(a) Owing to the large number of complaints regarding the illegal sale of liquor to natives in the northern islands of the Group, the s.s. *Tatra* was chartered by the Condominium Government in the month of November, 1911, to convey the Joint Court to the necessary places, in order that these cases should be determined.

A large number of cases were heard and a number of convictions secured and fines amounting to about £16 imposed. Of the £16 we believe that we are correct in stating that only the sum of 8s. has been collected. The total cost of the charter, and other expenses, amounted to over £700. This trip of the *Tatra* gave a great impetus to the sale of grog.

(b) On November 13, 1912, Leon Montaigne was convicted on sixteen separate charges of selling intoxicants to natives. The charges were all tried together and the accused was convicted and fined £8 and costs. We understand that Montaigne has been pardoned by the French Resident Commissioner.

As instances of kidnapping, we quote the following cases:

(1) A French subject named Le Plattinnier was charged on March 15, 1913, with the kidnapping of seventeen Malekulans, natives of South West Bay. In the case of one, who was a woman, a conviction was secured. This woman had two husbands. The woman admitted that she went on board willingly to accompany her husbands, and the husbands state that they gave their consent to their wife to be taken away themselves and that they could not escape. The Court held that the consent of the husbands had been obtained under duress, and that therefore a breach of Art. 33 of the Conven-

tion had been committed, and imposed a fine of £4, with £6 compensation to the woman.

In regard to the sixteen other natives, the Court held that as it could not be said that the crime, if any, committed by accused was mere illegal recruitment but kidnapping, it had no jurisdiction to determine the matter. The only Court competent would be the French National Court.

We understand that the following day all these natives were returned to work on the plantation of which M. Le Plattinnier is in charge, and that they are there at the present moment, and that neither the woman nor the boys have been returned, neither has there been any prosecution in the French National Court.

(2) In or about October, 1910, a French recruiter named Gustave Patient, abducted twelve natives from the coast of Santo near Tangoa, under the following circumstances: He found them sitting on the shore, and asked them what they were doing. They replied that they were on their way to seek work with a settler at the Saigon Channel. He then said that he was going there himself with his cutter and offered them a free passage. After having thus induced them to go on board the ship, he brought them first to Malekula, where he compelled them all to make a written agreement to recruit by the expedient of holding a loaded musket at their heads and threatening to shoot them if they did not do so. Thence he went to Epi, where he landed two of them, including the only one of the twelve who could express himself in pidgin-English, and thence he took the remainder to Vila, where they were taken up to the French Residency and engaged to a French settler named Devembez, who is now the Bailiff of the Joint Court. They remained in his service for several months until the native who had been landed on Epi and who knew pidgin-English succeeded in effecting his escape from M. Beauliau and coming to Vila to complain to the British Residency. The boys were subsequently withdrawn from M. Devambez by the French Resident and were detained at the French Residency for several more months. They were then, almost exactly one year from the time they had been seized, returned to their homes, having received no payment whatsoever for the work done either with M. Devambez or the French Resident, and no compensation for what they had suffered. No prosecution has taken place of M. Gustave Patient. These two cases are specimens of a very large number which might be adduced.

An instance of land troubles we quote the following case: On September 24, 1912, it was brought to the notice of the Joint Court that a French subject, named Courtois, had recently established himself on a 60-acre block of land at Vila Harbour under concession granted him by the French New Hebrides Company, which land had from time immemorial been in possession of the local natives, and which they had never sold. It appeared that when

the French company's surveyors placed landmarks on this land and neighbouring ground after survey, the local natives removed the same and were thereupon ordered by the French Resident to replace them. When, however, the natives applied to the French Resident Commissioner for protection against M. Courtois' encroachment upon their land, until such time as the Joint Court should be in a position to determine the matter, no answer was vouchsafed, but M. Courtois was left to continue his planting operations unchecked by the French authorities.

8. The difference in the French and British ideas as regards the treatment of native races is apparent when the case of native labour is brought into view. Whilst on British plantations fair conditions of life and work and payment are generally maintained, the majority of French plantations furnish examples of an exploitation which can only be denominated slavery. Therefore inasmuch as the Government of the country is a conjoint responsibility, our nation must take its share in the disgrace attached to this shameful condition of affairs unless the strongest measures are taken by the British Administration to induce their French colleagues to deal justly with each case of complaint.

As an example of non-repatriation, we quote the following case :—

It is the usual practice of the French Residency, in spite of the provisions of Article 5181-3, and Article 40 of the Convention, to take no steps to ensure the repatriation of native labour on French plantations on the expiry of their term of engagement. In the case of a boy named Sacsac of Ambrim, engaged to M. Gabriel Frouin for a period of three years, the engagement was cancelled some short time before its expiry and a new engagement of three years authorized by the French Commissioner.

A case of a boy named Sevier and eight other Ambrim boys, who had been engaged at the French Residency for varying periods and whose time of engagement had expired, in some cases five months and in some seventeen months previously, was brought to the notice of the French Resident in the month of May last year. The boys came in to Vila to consult a lawyer as to the best means of obtaining their repatriation and wages. When the attention of the French Resident was drawn to the case, he despatched the French Labour Inspector to Mele, who, instead of repatriating the boys, re-engaged them.

In regard to flogging by an employee, the extraordinary decision was given last year by the Joint Court in an accusation brought against a French subject named Le Plattinnier of Epi that while an employer of indentured labour could be convicted of physical ill-treatment of his labour under Article 44, 1, of the Convention, ill-treatment by such employer's white agent

or manager does not come within the scope of the jurisdiction of the Court. The only competent Court would be the French National Court.

Without further elaboration of statement or marshalling of much available material, we desire to express in the most emphatic manner possible our strong sense of the iniquity of further experimenting upon the lines which have been followed for the past five and a half years, and therefore declare our conviction that either :—

- (1) The Convention which is the basis of the operations of the Condominium must be honoured in every part equally by the French as by the British ;

or

- (2) Some other arrangement regarding the status of this Group should be arrived at by which the Condominium, as such, should be brought to an end and the islands brought under the British flag.

We lay this matter before the British people in all parts of the Empire believing that once the true state of affairs is fully realized it will no longer be tolerated.

Signed on behalf of the Conference by :—

CHAS. F. GRUNLING, representing the Melanesian Mission.

FRANK G. FILMER, representing the Church of Christ.

FRED. J. PATON (*Moderator*), representing the Presbyterian Mission.

Native Lands in Southern Rhodesia.

THE following correspondence has passed between the Society and the British South Africa Company :—

[Copy.]

THE ANTI-SLAVERY AND ABORIGINES PROTECTION SOCIETY.

June 11, 1913.

TO THE SECRETARY, BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA COMPANY.

SIR—

The attention of my Committee has been called to the following extract from the report of the Chief Native Commissioner of Matabeleland for 1912 :—

“ In many instances, the large landowning companies have given notice of their intention to charge their native tenants, in addition to the usual rent *per capita*, grazing fees for both large and small stock at so much per

head. This innovation has given rise to a great deal of dissatisfaction, and has had a disturbing effect on the natives concerned, who naturally inquire how long they are to be subjected to these increasing demands made upon them by the owners of the land, and whether there is to be no finality to these changes. The natives hate the idea of having to give up their old kraals and associations, but the fresh demands made upon them, which are now becoming general, have made them very uneasy in regard to their land tenure on private property."

I am directed, in view of the serious dissatisfaction referred to, to ask what steps are being taken or will be taken by the British South Africa Company to safeguard the natives' rights of occupation in Rhodesia and to protect their interests.

I am, etc.,

TRAVERS BUXTON,
Secretary.

BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA COMPANY.

July 8, 1913.

TO TRAVERS BUXTON, ESQ.,

ANTI-SLAVERY AND ABORIGINES' PROTECTION SOCIETY.

SIR,—

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 11th ultimo quoting an extract from the report of the Chief Native Commissioner for Matabeleland for 1912 relative to the grazing fees which some of the large landowning companies in Southern Rhodesia have recently decided to charge to natives living on their land.

I am to say that when this decision came to the notice of my Directors they at once communicated with the Administrator upon the subject, who was of opinion that any legislative interference with the right of private owners to charge rents to persons occupying their land was not in present circumstances justified. Those natives who are unwilling to pay these fees are being given every facility for moving their families and cattle on to the Native Reserves, which cover more than a quarter of the total area of Southern Rhodesia, and contain ample room for a very much larger population than is at present resident upon them.

In this connection I am to invite your attention to page 28 of the Annexures to the South African Native Affairs Commission Report of 1905, which shows that the provision for native Reserves in Southern Rhodesia is very much more generous in proportion to population than in any other part of British South Africa except in the Bechuanaland Protectorate, where conditions are quite special owing to the fact that that territory has up to the present not been occupied by Europeans to any appreciable extent.

The following extract from a letter dated January 28 last from the Chief Native Commissioner, Matabeleland, to the Secretary to the Administrator's Department indicates that natives are showing themselves quite ready to move into the Reserves and apparently no longer entertain the grievance which they considered they had before they had realised the fact that the alternative open to them of going into the Reserves preserved to them the privilege of free grazing, which private owners had previously allowed, and that the Administration would lend them every facility for moving their cattle thither :—

"The fact of Native stock-owners having given a definite 'No' (to which, to all intents and purposes, they intend to adhere) to the new conditions, which the Companies and other landowners desire to embody in their agreements with them, has, to their mind, settled the matter once and for all, and inasmuch as they have expressed their thanks to the Government for facilitating their removal elsewhere, where these demands do not obtain, they consider that they have no further need to agitate."

I am also to mention that one of the large landowning companies, viz., the Goldfields Rhodesia Development Company, has recently concluded an agreement with natives residing on its land, which, as the Chief Native Commissioner states, "practically eliminates the conditions as to grazing fees which that Company proposed to enforce."

Yours faithfully,

D. E. BRODIE,

Secretary.

On this correspondence, *Truth*, in its issue of July 16, remarks :—

It will be observed that in the Commissioner's report for 1912 the natives are depicted as dissatisfied, disturbed, uneasy, and as hating the idea of having to give up their old kraals and associations ; while in the letter of January, 1913, they are represented as positively grateful to the Chartered Company for facilitating their removal elsewhere. This is a very rapid and remarkable change, and one would rather like to hear what the natives themselves have to say about it. All through these transactions it is assumed that the Chartered Company has a right to sell lands in the occupation of natives, which thereupon become "private lands." But as the recent articles in *Truth* have shown, there are very grave doubts whether the company does really possess such a right, whether the lands are occupied or unoccupied. Mr. Harcourt thinks that the question is one for legal, not executive, decision. Surely, however, it is a question that the Crown ought to raise.

The whole matter of the alienation by the Chartered Company of a huge block of land in Southern Rhodesia to Liebig's Extract of Meat Company has formed the subject of many questions in Parliament by Mr. Swift MacNeill. One of these on July 24 was directed to the point raised in the Society's letter. Mr. Harcourt's reply was in the following terms :—

"As soon as the facts were brought to my notice I wrote to the High Commissioner pointing out that a far-reaching change of this character was liable to cause much disturbance of feeling among the natives and stating that I was anxious to learn what steps the Administration deemed it practicable or desirable to take with a view to keeping the system within reasonable limits, and obviating as far as possible the dangers of unrest. The Administrator, in a despatch dated March 28, stated that there were no signs whatever of unrest among the natives who might be affected. In the case of one large company, the original proposal had been modified to the extent that no charge for grazing was to be made unless the native had more than 20 head of cattle or 160 head of small stock, in which case his rent was to be increased by 10s. per annum. This very moderate proposal had been accepted by a number of native tenants, and the Administrator thought that other landowners might take similar action. The Native Commissioners would assist those natives who decided to remove to the reserves. I have received no further evidence of trouble, for Mr. Taylor's report, which has just reached me, is earlier in date, and I rely on the High Commissioner to keep me informed if any indications of trouble should appear. I see, therefore, no reason to appoint an independent Commissioner to hold an inquiry."

Mr. R. C. Hawkin had an article on the question of Rhodesia, and specially on the unsettled state of the law as to land tenure, in the August number of the *Contemporary Review*.

The Gilbert Islands.

ALLEGED abuses in these islands in the Western Pacific have long formed the subject of questions in Parliament and elsewhere. The wealth of the Gilbert Islands consists in the immense guano phosphate deposits on Ocean Island, which were conceded many years ago to the Pacific Phosphate Co.

The following letters have passed between the Society and the Colonial Office on one point, the taxation of the natives:—

July 22, 1913.

TO THE RIGHT HON. LEWIS HARCOURT, M.P.,

H.M. PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES.

SIR,—

The Committee of this Society has received repeated allegations as to the condition of the natives inhabiting the Gilbert and Ellice Islands. It is asserted that the incidence of taxation falls very heavily upon a people normally very poor, and frequently suffering hardship from drought and subsequent famine.

Our Committee observes from the most recent report (1912) that whilst in the year 1909 the gross native taxation appears to have been only £787, the total revenue from this head in 1910 was £4,166—an increase of over

£3,000—whilst during the same year a good deal of famine and sickness was admittedly prevalent. There does not appear to have been any extraordinary prosperity at this period amongst the native people which would justify so large an increase in taxation.

In view of these facts, our Committee begs to suggest to the Secretary of State the importance of instituting an inquiry into the allegations, particularly with reference to the condition of the people, the incidence of taxation, and whether it is possible to readjust taxation so that greater encouragement may be given to the copra industry, upon which the major part of the population appears to depend.

We are, etc.,

TRAVERS. BUXTON,

Secretary.

JOHN H. HARRIS,

Organising Secretary.

[*Reply.*]

DOWNING STREET,

August 5, 1913.

SIR,—

I am directed by Mr. Secretary Harcourt to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 22nd instant on the subject of the taxation of the natives in the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Protectorate.

2. In reply I am to explain that the figures of Native Taxes quoted in the second paragraph of your letter from the Report on the Protectorate for 1910 (Cd. 6007-34) do not represent the whole of the Native Taxes of the Gilbert and Ellice Islands, but only that portion which was credited to the general revenue of the Protectorate, the balance having been credited separately to the several Islands. The total amount of native taxation in respect of the year 1910 did not exceed that of 1909.

3. I am to add that in accordance with the general practice in the Protectorate the taxes were remitted in 1910 in the case of those Islands which suffered from drought.

4. Mr. Harcourt has no reason to think that the tax generally has pressed hardly on the natives, but he is already in correspondence with the High Commissioner for the Western Pacific as to the best method in which the tax should be assessed in future.

I am, etc.,

HENRY LAMBERT,

For the Under-Secretary of State.

THE SECRETARY,

THE ANTI-SLAVERY AND ABORIGINES PROTECTION SOCIETY.

Reviews.

ABORIGINES OF SOUTH AMERICA.¹

SIR CLEMENTS MARKHAM has made every student of native races his debtor by editing the papers of Colonel Church, and thus giving to the public the story of the Indian tribes of South America during the period of "subjugation" by the white race.

The *Aborigines of South America* is not only extremely well-written but published in clear type, and the facts are related in a sequence which holds the reader's rapt attention right on to the last page of this all too short work. It is a book which every member of the Society should read, and we do not hesitate to say that none will regret the time spent in doing so.

Colonel Church takes his readers to the homes of the Carib, Tapuya and Chiriguano tribes, and with the insight of a born traveller he describes their character and customs, whilst, as a faithful chronicler, he supplies his readers with invaluable details upon the "conquests" of these simple and hospitable tribes. He says:—

"The whole southern slope of Amazonia was turned into a slave-hunting field and flamed with bondage and misery for the savage as he understood life; for, wild and fierce as he was, he was assailed by a hunter who far exceeded him in cruelty."

The slave-trading practices of the early Portuguese are brought out in the following passage:—

"At a later date their reservations, before the introduction of negro slavery into Brazil, were turned into a slave-hunting field by the Portuguese. With sword, firearms and bloodhounds, the Indians, their women and notably their children were hunted down like wild beasts, and 'the better to train their bloodhounds for their work, they were fed on Indians assassinated for the purpose.'"

Colonel Church draws attention in the following passage to the present-day sufferings of the Indians in South America:—

"The Orient-Andean tribes have been much disturbed in very recent times by the rubber collectors, who have made their territory a recruiting ground for labourers under a form of service but little better, and, in some cases, worse, than the *mita* and *encomienda* system of Spanish colonial days, so that the greed of commerce is rapidly *civilizing* them off the face of the earth, and in several cases it has not taken more than ten or fifteen years almost to obliterate some small tribes and leave nothing but a trace of their existence. Truly, aboriginal man, in the New World, has not derived much happiness and no benefit from the rule of his *Christian* conqueror."

¹ *Aborigines of South America*. By Col. G. E. Church. Chapman & Hall. 10s. 6d. net.

Here, then, is further evidence that slave-owning, and with it slave-hunting and all the horrors of a traffic in human beings, is on the increase rather than disappearing. What does it avail the wretched slave that he is called "peon" or "labourer," or that he is "legally free"? All he knows is that he has lost his liberty, and that his body is as much the property of his master as the mule, the cow, or the llama.

By the Equator's Snowy Peak is an interesting account of missionary work amongst the Kikuyu and other people in the region of the Kenia Province of British East Africa, by Mrs. May Crawford. The book is published by the Church Missionary Society at half a crown, and the illustrations are amongst the most interesting we have seen. Mrs. Crawford tells her readers a good deal about the customs of the people and quite sufficient about the well-known difficulties attendant upon tropical travel.

The book is so well produced and in such a short compass that it should be, and no doubt will be, widely read by all those interested in missionary work.

Native Labour Traffic from the Gold Coast.

IN reply to an inquiry addressed to the Colonial Office whether any representations had been made as to the decoying of natives from certain ports in the Gold Coast for labour in the Spanish and the Portuguese Cocoa islands, the following letter has been received by the Society:—

DOWNING STREET,
September 15, 1913.

SIR,

I am directed by Mr. Secretary Harcourt to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 1st of September, asking for information in regard to the recruiting of natives of the Gold Coast for labour in the Spanish and Portuguese Islands of West Africa.

2. I am to inform you that a case undoubtedly took place in 1911 in which certain natives were induced to go from the Gold Coast to Fernando Po. In the following year three natives were prosecuted and convicted in connection with this offence.

3. The matter has engaged Mr. Harcourt's very serious attention, and it has been thought advisable to strengthen the law affecting recruiting in the Gold Coast. I am to enclose a copy of the Ordinance No. 5 of 1913 which received the Governor's assent on the 20th June last.

4. Every effort is being made by the Colonial Government to prevent a recurrence of the offence in question.

I am, etc.,

THE SECRETARY,

(Signed) H. W. JUST.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY AND ABORIGINES PROTECTION SOCIETY.

A Threat to Lord Mayo.

THE following paragraph appeared in *The Times* of July 31 under the above heading:—

“ Lord Mayo has received a threatening letter from Portuguese Carbonarios as the result of his having drawn attention in the House of Lords a week ago to the conditions of slavery in the Portuguese islands of St. Thomé and Principe and in Angola. The letter, which is written in bad French, begins by stating that it came from Portuguese Carbonarios and ends with the threat, couched in vague terms, that it will be on Lord Mayo's own property that revenge will be taken, or ‘ the job done,’ to use words nearer the original. A meeting of the Committee of the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society was held yesterday, at which Mr. St. Loe Strachey took the chair, when Lord Morley's speech in the debate on the 23rd inst. was discussed. This pronouncement was considered satisfactory, but the meeting decided to forward to Sir Edward Grey a memorandum urging that it was practical and possible to repatriate the labourers from the islands of St. Thomé to the mainland up to the carrying capacity of the available shipping.”

Peonage in the Philippines.

THE New York correspondent of *The Times* has called attention to a report from the Secretary of the Interior in the Philippine Islands in which he asserts that peonage and chattel slavery exist there extensively, and that legislative remedies are blocked in the Assembly by persons interested in peonage. The correspondent opines that the report will be “ a sensational contribution to the approaching controversy.”

Public Meetings.

The Committee of the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society appeals to its members everywhere to assist in organizing public meetings in places of worship or lecture halls, also drawing-room meetings, in order that the knowledge of the Society's work may be more widely spread throughout the Kingdom.

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PORTUGUESE SLAVERY.

Memorandum from the Society to Sir E. GREY, 14th May, 1913.

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